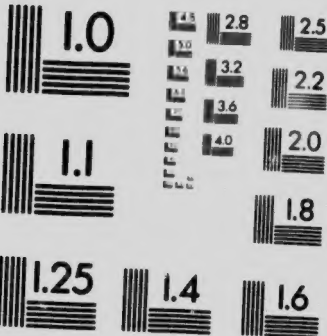


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Speech delivered by the
HONOURABLE CHARLES MURPHY

IN THE
HOUSE OF COMMONS

On November 29th, 1911

IN SUPPORT OF
SIR WILFRID LAURIER'S
AMENDMENT

to the Address in reply to
THE SPEECH FROM THE THRONE.

In a amendment to the motion to adopt the address, Sir WILFRID LAURIER moved:

That the following words be added to the address:

We beg to represent to your Royal Highness that by resolution of this House, adopted the 31st of March, 1900, it was affirmed that:

This House fully recognizes the duty of the people of Canada, as they increase in numbers and wealth, to assume in larger measure the responsibilities of national defence.

And further:

This House will cordially approve of any necessary expenditure designed to promote the speedy organization of a Canadian naval service.

That in pursuance of that resolution the late administration proceeded to adopt a well-defined policy of naval organization.

That with regard to that policy, as well as to the whole question of naval defence, there is in the present cabinet a flagrant conflict of opinion, and that some of its members have repeatedly, both before and during the last elections, denounced naval defence in any form whatsoever.

We respectfully submit to your Royal Highness that it is a fundamental principle of constitutional government that the advisers of the Crown shall be heartily in accord on all important questions of public policy, and that the inclusion, by the Prime Minister, in the present cabinet, of members holding diametrically opposite views on a question of the highest importance to the Dominion and to the empire, is contrary to the well understood principles of responsible government and should not receive the approval of the House.

Speaking in support of the above amendment HON. CHARLES MURPHY (Russell) said:—Mr. Speaker, it is not in a spirit of mere compliance with custom that I desire to add my congratulations to those which previous speakers have tendered to the mover (Mr. R. B. Bennett) and the seconder (Mr. Seigny) of the address for the very acceptable way in which they discharged the duties assigned to them at the opening of this parliament. In complimenting both these hon. gentlemen, I do so because I feel that they deserve all that has been said in their praise.

And, in this connection, let me express my appreciation of the manner in which hon. gentlemen opposite felicitated the right hon. the leader of the opposition (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) upon attaining his 70th birthday. The cordiality, the evident sincerity, of their felicitations reminded me of an incident that happened while the late Lord Russell of Killowen was addressing the court as chief counsel for Mr. Parnell in his famous case against the London 'Times.' Associated in that case with Lord Russell—then Sir Charles Russell—as junior counsel, was Mr. Asquith, now Prime Minister of Great Britain. In the course of his address Sir Charles Russell happened to disarrange his papers, and they fell unnoticed by him to the floor. Not finding them at hand when he required a reference a few moments later, he asked: 'Where are my papers?' Mr. Asquith, who was in the act of picking them up, answered: 'At your feet, Sir, where we all are.' The words in which hon. gentlemen opposite conveyed their congratulations to my right hon. leader may not have been the words used by Mr. Asquith on the occasion to which I have referred; but their tributes no less accurately described the position of my right hon. friend in this parliament than did Mr. Asquith's tribute at the time it was uttered, describe Sir

Charles Russell's position at the English bar.

Before passing to the consideration of this amendment, let me congratulate you, Mr. Speaker, upon your elevation to the high and honourable position which you now occupy. I have no doubt, Sir, that you will carry out your expressed intention of preserving an impartial attitude between the parties in this House. And speaking as a member of the opposition, I can assure you, Sir, that you will always find the members on this side of the House ready and willing to co-operate with you in maintaining the decorum of debate.

Now, Sir, the principle embodied in the amendment which has been placed in your hands by the right hon. the leader of the opposition, is one of the most important that can engage the attention of this House. In point of fact, it goes to the very root of responsible government. To reject it will be to declare that the Conservative party has decided to substitute emergency rule for constitutional government in this country and to declare that in future when a successful political leader is called upon to form a cabinet and finds himself embarrassed by the complexity of his support, he may, in the selection of his ministers, disregard their opposing views on all matters of public policy, provided that upon one question only they agree—namely the necessity, in the interest of their party, of keeping their opponents out of office. In effect, that is the position taken in this debate by members of the present coalition and by hon. gentlemen who have spoken in their behalf; and that position, I have no doubt, all the factions supporting this government are prepared to maintain.

Such a course, I submit, is without precedent in this Dominion. But it is not the only strange spectacle presented by this coalition. For the first time in the history of responsible government in any British country we have in Canada to-day a government whose leader does

net occupy a seat in either branch of parliament and who, therefore, is not responsible to the people to whom the government which he leads is responsible. The titular leader of the government is, of course, my hon. friend the Prime Minister; the actual leader of the government is Mr. Henri Bourassa, the editor of 'Le Devoir,' and head of the Nationalist party in the province of Quebec. But, Sir, even that does not fully describe the situation as to the leadership of this government. The Prime Minister receives his orders not from Mr. Bourassa direct, but from either of his deputies, the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Monk) or Mr. Armand Lavergne, so that the titular leader sits not once but twice or thrice removed from the real seat of power.

Mr. Speaker, no greater tribute could be paid to Mr. Bourassa's political influence than his ascendancy over a party to which he never belonged, and in which, even now, he disdains membership. His success becomes all the more striking when you recall what was said about him and his party immediately after the general election by the 'Orange Sentinel,' of Toronto, a newspaper whose unwavering support of the Conservative party gives it authority to speak for that party. In its issue of 28th September last, the 'Sentinel' published a long article reviewing the election, in which it said:

**Nationalist Party to Remain Independent of
Borden Government.**

Mr. Bourassa has declared his independence of the new government about to be formed. That is quite satisfactory. He will continue, he says, to fight for the principles for which he has struggled. Those principles, as he has explained them in his speeches, can have no support from the Borden government without alienating the people of Ontario. The Nationalist propaganda is a menace to the integrity of the empire. We have not hesitated to express our opinion of the movement or its leader. Our opposition to Sir Wilfrid Laurier is due to his surrender to the Ultramontanes. Bourassa's complaint against him was that he had not gone far enough in the service of his race and his church. The 'Sentinel' believes he went too far.

Certainly if Laurier did not go far enough to please Mr. Bourassa, there is nothing in Mr. Borden's record to encourage him to hope for greater docility to the wishes of the Nationalists. It suits our views to have Mr. Bourassa standing aloof. Let him fight his battle in Quebec. He may have some success there. But he must understand that the harder he fights for the extension of the privileges of the French in the Dominion, the more solidly will the English-speaking electors gather behind the man who resists him. If Mr. Bourassa reads the returns intelligently he will discover that for the first time since confederation there is a government at Ottawa that is in a position to defy the agitators of Quebec. That is the outstanding feature of the contest. It is one which is most gratifying to the dominant race in Canada. It means, in a phrase, that the rule of the minority will cease. The tradition that a party could not win a federal election without the aid of Quebec has been destroyed. So far as Mr. Bourassa has contributed to fix that in the minds of politicians and people he has done a real service.

Brave words, Mr. Speaker, but eaten almost as soon as they were uttered. Fond hopes, Mr. Speaker, but rudely dashed to the ground almost as soon as they were formed. For Mr. Bourassa, with a better knowledge than the

'Sentinel' of the man with whom he had to deal, laughed at the 'Sentinel's' threats, pressed his advantage, and to-day stands in the pilot-house of the government ship, with his hand upon the wheel, steering the craft to an anchorage from which he and his fellow Nationalists are determined there shall go forth no Canadian navy and no contribution to the British navy.

It has been frequently asserted in the course of this debate that no constitutional model can be found for such a coalition government as the one we have at present. Where then did the Prime Minister go for his model? So far he has not told us, but as he is a gentleman of culture and widely read, he must have found somewhere laid down, a model which he decided to follow. All the signs indicate that the Prime Minister's reading led him to take for his model a form of government which prevailed on this continent at a time when the Red man was supreme. In the absence of information from the Prime Minister it is difficult to be exact, but those who remember Parkman's account of the organization of the Iroquois confederacy will notice a striking parallel between that body and the make-up of the present cabinet. Parkman tells us that, sundered by dissensions the Iroquois separated into five distinct nations, the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas and the Senecas. Then there was a further sub-division into several clans, each of which had its distinctive name, as the clan of the Wolf, of the Hawk, of the Fox, of the Bear and of the Tortoise. These clans as Parkman explains, were not really separate, but were mingled throughout the confederacy. Thus a Seneca and a Mohawk might each be a Bear. A Wolf and a Fox might each be a Seneca. This, you will admit is not a little confusing to our modern ideas, and the confusion grows, of course, in proportion to the number of clans. But Parkman proceeds to point out that, divided and sub-divided as the Iroquois were, they had one bond that held the confederacy together, namely, the common purpose of slaughtering the enemy and of waxing fat on the plunder to be found in the enemy's country. There, it seems to me, the Prime Minister got the model for his cabinet. When he first went cabinet-making and looked over his clans of the Wolf, the Fox, the Hawk, the Bear and the Tortoise, we can imagine, from what the hon. member for West Toronto (Mr. Osler) told the Conservatives of Ward 6, in that city, how perplexed he was by the divergence of their views; but in the organization of the Iroquois confederacy he saw a way out of his difficulty. And so in the end it mattered not whether the men he decided to select were for a low tariff or a tariff as high as Haman's gallows, it mattered not whether they favoured a gift of Dreadnoughts, a cash contribution to the British navy, or no navy at all; so long as they were united on the policy aptly described, as: 'Anything to keep Laurier and the Liberals out of office,' they were eligible to become his colleagues and the advisers of the Crown, with collective responsibility on all matters of public policy! ■■

The parallel between the Iroquois con-

federacy and the present cabinet does not stop there. Parkman goes on to explain that the clans were by no means equal in numbers, in influence or in honour. To some of the clans belonged the right of giving one chief to the nation; others had the right of giving three, or in one case, four chiefs; while others could give none. This must have been the precedent the Prime Minister had in mind when he gave three portfolios and a deputy speakership to the Nationalists, and left the great Presbyterian body without a single representative in the cabinet. For a knowledge of this latter omission I am indebted to the Ottawa 'Citizen' which, as you know, is the morning echo of the Prime Minister's voice in this city.

Speaking a few days ago in this House, my hon. friend the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Monk) inquired from my hon. friend the member for Red Deer (Mr. Clark) if he could find in constitutional history in the last three hundred years, any such representation to the Crown as was contained in this amendment.

My hon. friend from Shefford (Mr. Boivin) supplied the answer to-day. It might well be answered 'no,' for the simple reason that a similar instance never occurred in England. But when the Minister of Public Works asked that question he forgot that the member for Red Deer (Mr. Clark) had anticipated it and had supplied the answer by citing the example of Lord James of Hereford, of the Duke of Devonshire, and of other gentlemen in England who had refused to enter cabinets when they could not agree with the policy of the Prime Minister.

In the further course of his speech the Minister of Public Works in replying to a criticism of the personnel of the present cabinet, cited Mr. Tarte and Mr. Dobell as examples of former Conservatives who had been included in the cabinet of Sir Wilfrid Laurier in 1896. But, these cases are not analogous to the present. In the first place, neither Mr. Tarte nor Mr. Dobell had denounced the leader of the Liberal party as some of the present ministers had denounced the present Prime Minister almost up to the time his cabinet was formed. For years prior to 1896, Mr. Tarte had worked in close harmony with the Liberal party and in 1897, in conjunction with the Liberals he had conducted an investigation into the scandals which ultimately wrecked the Conservative government and at the next ensuing election he ran as a supporter of the right hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier. In Mr. Dobell's case it is well to recall that he was returned at a by-election in 1895 and Sir Wilfrid Laurier then claimed him as a supporter because Mr. Dobell had included in his election platform a plank in favour of reciprocity with the United States. But, when Sir Wilfrid Laurier made that claim in this House what do you think happened? Why, Sir, Mr. Foster, the present Minister of Trade and Commerce, repudiated the idea because, said Mr. Foster, reciprocity had been a cardinal plank in the platform of the Conservative party for many years previously. It is therefore well to remember that both Mr. Tarte and Mr. Dobell, when they entered the Liberal cabinet had not for a long

time previously differed in opinion with the Liberal Prime Minister, but that on the contrary they were in entire accord with him on all matters of public policy and on all matters of minor policy as well.

Previous speakers on this side of the House have pointed out the line of cleavage between the present ministers on the navy question, and it may be interesting to pursue that subject a little further so that we may understand fully how and when these differences of opinion arose. It is true that the Prime Minister (Mr. Borden) and the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Mr. Foster) and their parliamentary followers adhered to the resolution of March 29, 1909, for several months after that resolution was unanimously adopted by this House. In proof of that you have had cited the speech delivered by the Hon. Mr. Borden in England on the 1st of July, 1909, as well as the speech he delivered at Halifax on the 14th of October of that year, after his return from England. There is, however, another speech which has not been referred to so far in the debate and that is a speech delivered by the Minister of Trade and Commerce on April 18, 1909, in the city of Toronto, before the Centre and South Toronto Conservative clubs. A despatch from Toronto to the Montreal 'Gazette,' dated April 18, 1909, says:

George E. Foster urged that a beginning be made in the formation of a navy of our own as well as taking steps to assist Great Britain in the defence of Canada. He concluded by urging that Canada should let the roots sink down into her own soil and gradually lay the foundation of a navy of our own.

And when you hear these words quoted to-day you recognize them as an old friend, because they are practically the same words used by the same hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) in the eloquent speech he delivered in this House on the 29th March, 1909, in support of the resolution which he and his party now profess to disregard.

It has been said that the Prime Minister and his English speaking followers adhered to this resolution until the result of the Drummond-Arthabaska election became known, and that then a change took place. This, however, is not an absolutely correct statement of the situation. Prior to the Drummond-Arthabaska election there were developments in the navy question in another direction, in regard to which some information may, I think, very properly be given to this House. You have heard that in the course of this debate the view was expressed that it was pressure from Toronto which forced the Prime Minister to abandon his position on the navy question. I am not disposed to question any honour that Toronto may be entitled to in this regard, but to do it justice I must say that the pressure, in this instance, came not from Toronto, but from the city of Winnipeg and from no less a person than the former Minister of Public Works in the Manitoba government, now the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Rogers) of this coalition cabinet. The first intimation that the public had that such pressure might be expected was contained in a despatch from Win-

peg to the Montreal 'Gazette' dated April 16, 1909, and purporting to give an interview with the present Minister of the Interior. I will read some extracts from the despatch for the sake of tracing the genesis of this change. The despatch says:

Hon. Robert Rogers, Minister of Public Works, to-day condemned in no uncertain manner what he called Sir Wilfrid Laurier's cheap-jack naval policy in discussing the announcement that Sir Frederick Borden and Mr. Brodeur would leave for England immediately after the session to consult the Imperial authorities.

An hon. MEMBER. Hear, hear.

Mr. MURPHY. I think I heard some gentleman opposite say 'hear, hear,' but I would ask him to reserve his applause for the next paragraph:

Said Mr. Rogers, 'battleships of the Dreadnought type alone can serve to uphold Great Britain's supremacy on the seas. It is for Canada to say whether she will or will not provide for one or more of these battleships. If our answer is to be no, it would be more manly, more dignified and more admirable in every way frankly to say so and not beat about the bush in wishy-washy resolutions, and—'

I commend these words to my friend who said 'hear, hear.'

—and talk of sending ministers on time-killing expeditions to London.

No, concluded Mr. Rogers, I don't think the Laurier government has any intention of implementing the terms of this resolution and you will notice that Sir Wilfrid Laurier is not receiving any congratulatory messages from the King or other personages in London on the strength of his naval policy.

That, so far as my knowledge goes, is the first intimation of activity on the part of the gentleman who has turned out to be the great tempter of the English-speaking portion of the Conservative party on the naval question. You will recall that the Hon. Mr. Borden was in England in the summer of 1909, and you will also recall that while he was in England his colleague the Minister of Trade and Commerce made a tour of the west. There was a banquet given to him at the city of Winnipeg at which the present Minister of the Interior was a very prominent figure.

At that banquet in Winnipeg and at other functions in other places throughout the west, the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Mr. Foster), made speeches, and each of these speeches indicated that he too was gradually yielding to the spell of the tempter, and that by degrees he was making up his mind to abandon the position he had so valiantly taken in this House on the 29th March, 1909.

Then, after the return of the hon. the First Minister (Mr. Borden), from England, and after he had made his speech in Halifax, re-asserting his position on this resolution and declaring it to be the same as it was when that resolution was adopted, what took place? A very significant interview took place between my hon. friend the First Minister (Mr. Borden), and the great tempter from Winnipeg, Mr. Robert Rogers. That interview took place in the city of Toronto,

and perhaps it was the knowledge of that interview which led some people to believe that the pressure on the First Minister to change his position came from Toronto. The 'Mail and Empire' of November the 1st, 1909, gives some insight into what took place at Toronto. Of that interview between the Prime Minister, who up to that time had stuck to his guns, and Mr. Rogers, then Minister of Public Works of Manitoba, the 'Mail and Empire,' of November the 1st, 1909, gave the following account:

Hon. Robert Rogers, Minister of Public Works for Manitoba, was at the King Edward Hotel yesterday and left for Montreal last night. He was in conference with Mr. H. L. Borden during the day, but neither gentleman would make any statement in regard to the matters under discussion.

Then after some other statements which are not material to this debate, the article continues:

Mr. Rogers was asked what was the state of public opinion in the west in regard to the proposition for a Canadian navy, and replied: 'The west is not bubbling over with confidence in Sir Wilfrid Laurier, nor with the idea that he is going to do anything for the welfare of the empire. In the west we don't think that even a Canadian navy would be the best means of paying our obligations to Great Britain for protection and services rendered in the past.'

And a little later on Mr. Rogers says:—

'The talk of a Canadian navy is only a means to an end whereby they can get around the matter and end in doing nothing. If we had in Canada a First Minister in whose loyalty to the empire the country had confidence, then conditions might be different.

'How about the resolution of the House?' was asked.

Resolutions are words or dead letters until a living spirit puts life into them. If the ruling spirit in Canada is not loyal to even that resolution, conditions to my mind are serious.

Mr. Speaker, in view of recent developments, let me read that sentence over again:—

If the ruling spirit in Canada is not loyal to even that resolution, conditions to my mind are serious.

I would draw the attention of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Mr. Hazen), to this:—

Many long months have passed since this resolution came down, and nothing has as yet been accomplished except the time-killing mission of two ministers who are sent to England.

From these citations it must be evident that a new policy was decided on at that time by the Prime Minister and by a certain section of his English-speaking following; and if there be any doubt as to where the pressure came from, that doubt is entirely removed by a speech delivered by the Hon. Walter Scott in the Saskatchewan Legislature on the 17th of December, 1909, when that legislature was discussing the Dreadnought resolution offered by Mr. Wylie, who was then, I believe, the member for Maple Creek. The Hon. Mr. Scott is reported to have spoken as follows:—

The movement to drive Mr. Borden from the position which he has taken on this naval question is a movement which, it is well known, has originated in Winnipeg. The

knowledge of that fact, together with the motion before us gives good reason for thinking that our hon. friends opposite have at last discovered a way in which to exhibit at least a little gratitude for some of the things which occurred and were done in the Saskatchewan campaign in August, 1908, when the so-called Provincial Rights organisation forces were directed from Winnipeg by the Hon. Mr. Rogers.

Mr. Wylie—Rogers had absolutely nothing to do with my motion.

Mr. Scott—Mr. Speaker, the rules of the House impose some very proper restrictions which I should be the last to disregard but we are dealing with a maritime subject and I really must suggest to my hon. friend that he tell that to the marines.

The part taken by Mr. Rogers in the Saskatchewan campaign last year cannot be disputed. The part that he is taking at the present time against Mr. Borden on this naval question is equally well known. That the underlying purpose of this motion of Mr. Wylie and we are considering is identical with Mr. Rogers' motion must be apparent even to a child. Let Mr. Wylie imagine that the public are unable to add two and two together.

So I assert that there can be no doubt that the present Minister of the Interior (Mr. Rogers), was the author of the cry heard so often in certain parts of this country during the last elections, namely, that the naval policy of the late government was not British enough, just as the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Monk), and his Nationalist associates were the authors of the cry in Quebec that that policy was too British. Is it any wonder then that we on this side should demand an explanation as to how these two hon. gentlemen came together in the same cabinet? Is it not natural that we should ask further that if when this government tenders advice to the Crown on naval matters, that advice is accompanied by two riders, one bearing the signature of the Minister of the Interior, for the imperial wing of the party, and the other bearing the signature of the Minister of Public Works for the anti-imperial wing of the party? Sir, it is only necessary to mention these conditions to realize how timely is the amendment of the right hon. the leader of the opposition (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), and that it should be supported by every man who appreciates the benefits of responsible government.

So much has been said about reciprocity that it would not be showing proper consideration for the time of the House if, at this stage of the debate, the discussion on that subject were to be prolonged. However, there is one phase of the matter with which I would like to deal very briefly. When the late government took office in 1896 they were confronted with a number of outstanding questions between Canada and the United States, which had threatened, at one time or another, to impair the friendly relations that should exist between two neighbouring peoples. What happened? The late government set resolutely to work to remove these sources of irritation, and in turn settled the Alaskan boundary question, the boundary waters question, the fisheries question as connected with international boundary waters, the question of the international boundary in Passamaquoddy Bay, the North Atlantic coast fisheries question and the pelagic sealing ques-

tion, and it entered into an agreement for the settling of the outstanding pecuniary claims of the subjects of both countries.

Now, Mr. Speaker, the settlement of all these questions involved no loss of national honour and no weakening of the imperial tie. On the contrary it increased Canadian national self-respect and the removal of all these subjects of controversy not only promoted more friendly relations between Canada and the United States, but it brought the British and the American peoples more closely together than they had ever been before.

And, Sir, having regard to these results, it was felt by the late government that it would have been a crime, not only against Canada but against Great Britain as well to have rejected the friendly overtures of the United States to enter into a reciprocal trade arrangement confined to the natural products of the two countries. As a member of the late government, holding that view, I cannot too strongly condemn the tactics of those opponents of reciprocity who, with complete disregard for the future relations of Canada and the Empire with the United States, and thinking only of attaining party success, distorted certain words used by President Taft in his message to Congress, and argued that because he said that Canadians were coming to the parting of the ways, that meant that we were being forced to choose between the road leading to Washington and the road leading to the capital of the British Empire. As that phrase has been referred to in the same sense in this debate, I would ask your indulgence, Sir, for a few minutes while I place the facts before you. Now, what are the facts? In the first place, the president's words, as they appear in his message to congress, are not open to the interpretation placed upon them. Just let us see what he did say. Here are his exact words:

The Dominion has greatly prospered. It has an active, aggressive, and intelligent people. They are coming to the parting of the ways. They must soon decide whether they are to regard themselves as isolated permanently from our markets by a perpetual wall or whether we are to be commercial friends.

Nothing very alarming in that, Mr. Speaker; nothing there to justify the use of the annexation cry; nothing there to justify the stirring up of an anti-American feeling in this country. Those who led the people of Canada, or some of them at least, to believe that the words 'the parting of the ways' were applied for the first time to Canada by President Taft, and then with a sinister meaning, have absolutely no defence for their conduct when all the facts are known.

What are the further facts? It happens that this very phrase, 'the parting of the ways,' was used by a distinguished American statesman in discussing international relations with a former leader of the Conservative party, and there can be no doubt that in repeating the phrase in his late message to congress, President Taft was but echoing the words used by Mr. Bayard, the American Secretary of State, in a letter written by him to Sir Charles Tupper in 1887 on the subject of our commercial relations. In

that letter, which was dated May 31, 1887, Mr. Bayard said:

The gravity of the present condition of affairs between our two countries demands entire frankness. I feel we stand at 'the parting of the ways.' In one direction I can see a well assured, steady, healthful relationship, devoid of petty jealousies and filled with the fruits of a prosperity arising out of a friendship cemented by mutual interests, and enduring because based upon justice; on the other, a career of embittered rivalry, staining our long frontier with the hues of hostility, in which victory means the destruction of an adjacent prosperity without gain to the prevalent party—a mutual, physical and moral deterioration which ought to be abhorrent to patriots on both sides, and which, I am sure, no two men will exert themselves more to prevent than the parties to this unofficial correspondence.

There, Sir, you have almost the identical language used by President Taft, and that letter was written 24 years before President Taft sent his message to congress. When Sir Charles Tupper received that letter and read the phrase, 'the parting of the ways,' did he lash himself into a frenzy and shout that Mr. Bayard in using it had evil designs on Canada? Nothing of the kind. Did he object to the use of those words in any way? Not he. Then you may ask, what did he do? He sat down and wrote a letter to Mr. Bayard on the 6th of June, 1887, in these terms:

My dear Mr. Bayard.—I had great pleasure in receiving your letter of May 31 evincing as it does the importance which you attach to the maintenance of the cordial commercial relations between the United States and Canada, under which, such vast and mutually beneficial results have grown up. I entirely concur in your statement that we both seek to attain a just and permanent settlement—and that there is but one way to procure it—and that is by a straightforward treatment on a liberal and statesmanlike plan of the entire commercial relations of the two countries.

Not one word of protest or objection, but every line of that letter constitutes a standing rebuke to our opponents who employed the tactics of which we have reason to complain. If we were seeking justification for our course in regard to that trade agreement, I submit that we could find no better justification than that which is contained in this letter of Sir Charles Tupper.

Now, Sir, if I have to find fault with hon. gentlemen opposite on matters of general policy, I have none at all to find with the candour displayed by the hon. member for Yamaska (Mr. Mondou), and the hon. member for West Peterborough (Mr. Burnham). The first of these hon. gentlemen told us that the opposition to the right hon. leader of the late government in the province of Quebec was due to the feeling that he had not done enough for the Catholics. The hon. member for West Peterborough (Mr. Burnham) told us with equal frankness that opposition to the right hon. gentleman in the province of Ontario was due to the feeling that he had done too much for the Catholics. It is true that the political vision of the average Ontario elector was temporarily obscured by some of the issues raised in the recent election; but, Sir, I have enough confidence in his sense of fair-play, in his

deep-rooted love of justice, to believe that when the mists have cleared away he will see the direction in which his duty lies, and will punish the men who misled him in that election. Sir, we all remember the Gordon riots in England, and the regrettable deeds that were done by a section of the people while under the influence of religious excitement. In the account of the happenings of that time given by Charles Dickens in 'Barnaby Rudge,' there stands out one incident which I think is worth repeating in this House. When, by reason of professing the same creed as the rioters, Gabriel Varden, the sturdy old English locksmith, was urged to chalk their motto on his door and thus secure the protection of his home, he rejected the proposal with scorn, saying: 'No! I'd neither have the protection of their leader nor chalk their howl upon my door, though for not doing it they shot me on my own threshold.' Mr. Speaker, in substance I believe that will be the attitude of the Ontario elector if in the future, appeals are made to him similar to those that were made to him in the recent election.

Now, Sir, what answer has been made by the government to this amendment? The only answer vouchsafed by the Prime Minister and the Minister of Trade and Commerce is this, that it is not just to ask the government to declare its naval policy at this time. Not just to ask the government to declare its naval policy, when only one short year ago the hon. Minister of Public Works, aye, and the hon. Prime Minister as well—moved an amendment to the address because the speech from the Throne contained no indication of the intention of the government to submit the naval question to the people. Why could not this government have embodied in the speech from the Throne what its Prime Minister and his Minister of Public Works professed to be their view and their desire just one year ago?

Were they not bound in honour to do so when we have it on the word of the Postmaster General (Mr. Pelletier) and of Mr. Armand Lavergne, speaking to the electors in the county of Quebec, that the Prime Minister had promised them both that there should be a referendum on this subject?

Not just to ask the government to declare their naval policy!—after what took place during the recent election, when the Prime Minister at different places in Ontario, and elsewhere in the English speaking centres had been most eloquent on the subject of the navy, and had then gone to Quebec, and had suddenly become as mum as the traditional mollusc on the same subject. Have we not a right, Sir, to ask for some explanation of such a Janus-faced policy as that?

Not just to ask this government for a declaration of its naval policy!—when the Prime Minister went to Missisquoi in the province of Quebec in the recent election, and by appearing on his candidate's platform there publicly endorsed that candidate's election address which contained the following paragraph:

If I am elected I will give my word and my vote—I declare it emphatically in advance—to obtain the

repeal of the Naval Bill. I will vote against any Prime Minister whether Mr. Borden, or any one else who will not repeal this Bill in its entirety.

In view of the Prime Minister's endorsement of that position during the election, have we not the right to know where he stands on that question now?

Not just to ask the government for a declaration of its naval policy!—when my hon. friend the Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Mr. Hazen) speaking a few evenings ago in this House, approved of the Prime Minister sending telegrams during the elections outlining his policy on a great variety of matters. Surely, Sir, if that were proper for the Prime Minister to do, we are entirely within our rights in asking the Prime Minister to state his naval policy in the speech from the Throne.

Not just to ask the government to declare its naval policy!—when in this very debate, the Prime Minister told us that naval expenditures should stop, when the Minister of Marine stated that some members of the government should go to England to consult the Admiralty on this question. Could not the government have stated either or both of these things in the speech from the Throne? But I would ask the Minister of Marine and Fisheries why should he waste time and money in going to England on what his colleague the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Rogers) described as a time-killing mission? Why does he need to ask the views of the Admiralty? Sir, he has the views of the Admiralty. They are contained in the official reports of the conference of 1909. If he will consult those reports, and will also read the debate which afterwards took place in this House on the subject, he will find that the Admiralty favoured one of three things—first a cash contribution; second, a fleet unit on the Pacific; or, third, a navy such as the late government proposed to build. If further information is required, the hon. gentleman (Mr. Hazen) can get it by simply sending a cablegram to the Foreign Office, or other proper quarters in England. But, Sir, it may be that our friend and late colleague, Hon. Senator George Taylor, former member for Leeds in this House, let the cat out of the bag when he was discussing, with remarkable candour, before his former constituents, the political huckstering that had gone on between himself and the Prime Minister (Mr. Borden) and the Minister of Finance (Mr. W. T. White) to obtain a seat for the last hon. gentleman in the county of Leeds. In the course of that explanation he told the people of that county that the Prime Minister had informed him that he would not be losing much by giving up his seat in this House and going to the Senate because there were only going to be two sessions of this parliament anyway. Well, if that be a fact, and I have no reason to doubt it, it looks very much as if this government were trying to shelve this navy question until after the next general election, in the hope that they may obtain another favourable verdict under false pretences. Or is it, Sir, that they are like the boa constrictor; there has been so much

swallowing that they must go into a long sleep to work off the effect?

My hon. friend from Red Deer (Mr. M. Clark) in his magnificent speech last week, said, and truly said, that this amendment involves the personal honour of the ministry. So it does, Sir. But possibly the hon. member for Red Deer did not know the full extent to which the personal honour of the ministry is involved when he made that statement. Mr. Speaker, the government has not only trifled with this parliament, but it has trifled with His Majesty the King, and with His Royal Highness the Governor-General as well. In one breath this government tells the Nationalists that there will be no navy, and in almost the same breath they assure His Majesty and His Royal Highness the Governor-General that there will be a navy. In the 'Canada Gazette' of November 11, 1911, there appears this announcement:

Department of the Naval Service.

His Majesty the King has been graciously pleased to approve of the naval forces of Canada receiving the style of the 'Royal Canadian Navy' and of the ships of war of that navy being designated as 'His Majesty's Canadian Ships.'

G. J. DESBARATS,

Deputy Minister of the Naval Service.

If there are to be no ships, if there is to be no navy, did not the ministers, as loyal and honourable men, owe it to His Majesty to tell him so, instead of leading him to believe that we should have both, by publishing this announcement of his royal pleasure? But that is not all. Just as these ministers have trifled with His Majesty, so they have trifled with His Majesty's representative, the Governor-General of this country. The same number of the 'Canada Gazette' contains the following:

At the Government House at Ottawa,

Wednesday, the 18th day of October, 1911.

Present:

His Royal Highness in Council.

His Royal Highness is pleased to order and it is hereby ordered as follows:—

The regulations for the entry of naval cadets for the naval service, which provide that candidates shall be between fourteen and sixteen years of age on the 1st January immediately following the examination, are hereby suspended as regards the examination for naval cadets which is to be held in November, 1911, and it is hereby provided that candidates who are not more than seventeen years of age on 1st January, 1912, may compete at such examination, such alteration in age being applicable to this particular examination only.

RODOLPHE BOUDREAU,

Clerk of the Privy Council.

Now, if we are to build no ships, and have no navy, as the Nationalist wing of this coalition-government desire, why was the Governor-General given the assurance that we should have both by the terms of this order-in-council when it was presented to His Royal Highness by this government for his signature? What, in terms, is that order-in-council but an intimation that

the naval programme of the late government is being carried on by the present coalition ministry.

Nor is that all. While assuring a section of their followers that there will be no navy, this government is advertising for all kinds of supplies for the navy.

Tenders are coming in; these in due course will be accepted by order-in-council, and as each order-in-council is presented to His Royal Highness the Governor-General for his signature, that will be a further assurance that the naval programme of the late government is to proceed. Surely, Sir, the ministers owe it to His Royal Highness to inform him if that is not to be the

case. But, as my hon. friend from Guysboro (Mr. Sinclair) said a few days ago, what kind of treatment can the Governor-General of this country expect from the hands of men who are the political heirs of the men who stoned a Governor-General through the streets of Montreal? If this amendment and the debate upon it serve no other purpose than to place hon. gentlemen opposite in their true light before the people of this country, that alone would justify the vote which I intend to give in support of the amendment.

House divided on amendment (Sir Wilfrid Laurier).

